B. The Tribal Community

178

The scattering of the population over wide areas and their unstable manner of living, both a result of the climatic conditions of the country, has not permitted the social and civil life of the Hottentots to establish rigid norms. In addition, the confusions of the last years have swept away the ancient customs that had persisted until recently, so that a unified presentation of the social life of the Hottentots in their state and community is impossible today. The traveler [318] can only note those basic beliefs that he finds in his dealings with the natives which are still alive among the people even though they may not be publicly expressed. The little that I can report here concerns the Hottentots' views about property, sexual relations, and power.

1. Property

423

The only instances of private ownership of land probably occur only in the nara-fields of the Kuiseb region behind Walvis Bay. The hut is movable property and the so-called "gardens" were originally foreign to the Hottentot and do not count here. The usable stretches of land, the pasture areas, are common property of the families who have their cattle there. The right to this pasture area exists only as long as no stronger community contests it. Battles for pastures and cattle have been fought by the Hottentots among themselves from time immemorial. The lack of organization beyond the narrow tribal bounds has contributed greatly to the splintering of national power. [729] [649]

422

Within the tribe (another ethic exists in regard to the white man) private ownership of movable property, especially cattle, is sufficiently protected. Theft is considered a serious wrong and is very severely punished (see Power).

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Repayment of a debt (again only among themselves) is considered a matter of honor but is often taken lightly enough: "!aus ga ǂareya ota ni ra ma tsi," i.e. When the rock-rabbit gets a tail (i.e. never), I will give it back to you."

425

In spite of the Hottentot's strictness in preserving his own private property rights, he is not at all miserly. He not only divides the last thing he has with his own people, he is (and was particularly so as all the older accounts testify) particularly hospitable to passing strangers. It would be superfluous to prove again that this hospitality was not based on a shrewd expectation of getting some advantage, but on a deeply rooted feeling of brotherhood. [579]

2: Schapera E.-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX10

and the elevated ridges and plateaus of Central Africa. The route bifurcates north of Lake Nyasa. The eastern branch leads to the broad coastal belt of the Rovuma-Rufiji region and down to the Zambesi delta, the western branch to the diversified plateau between Lakes Nyasa and Bangweolo and the Zambesi River.

This diversified plateau region is important as the central point from which migration routes branch out into South Africa. Two principal routes may be distinguished, one leading to the south, the other to the west. The southward route, crossing the Zambesi just above or just below the famous gorge which begins at the Victoria Falls, leads through the Matabeleland plateau of Southern Rhodesia into the Northern Transvaal, avoiding the unhealthy coastlands of Portuguese East Africa on the east, and the waterless tracts of the Middle and Southern Kalahari on the west. Then, following the uplands of the great interior plateau, it leads down through the Western Transvaal and Orange Free State into the west of Cape Province, or, branching off through Zululand, passes along the south-east and south coast belt to rejoin the other line in the Cape Province. The westward route follows the southern equatorial watershed between the two well-watered regions of the Congo basin and the Northern Kalahari and so leads to the fertile and healthy highlands of Angola. Here it branches out on the north to Loanda and the Lower Congo, on the south over the Kunene into the highland plateaus of South-West Africa and across the Orange River into the Western Cape Province, where it meets the southward route.

These are the main lines of migration imposed above all on cattle-keeping peoples. The high steppes afford the best pasture and facilitate movement, and in addition are more healthy for men and animals than the low-lying coastlands or the moister portions of the interior with their malaria, tsetse fly and other infectious diseases. One other point must be noticed. South Africa by virtue of its geographical situation forms an ethnological cul-de-sac: the ocean on three sides bars all further progress. Hence invading peoples must either wipe out their predecessors completely or live side by side with them, the latter a condition likely to result in intermingling and the formation of hybrid races and cultures. Both processes have occurred frequently enough in the history of the country.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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do not seem to have been at all clearly defined. It appears rather that in the early days of the Dutch settlement the different Hottentot tribes were situated far apart, each tribe forming certain centres round which it migrated, and claiming as its territory all the land where its members were accustomed to graze their herds or to live. But the right to this land existed only as long as no stronger community disputed it. From the earliest historical times fights for pasture lands are recorded as occurring among the Hottentots, the inevitable result being that a dispossessed tribe would have to move on to new lands. In any case the pasturing of their cattle in a country so subject to long droughts as South Africa undoubtedly occasioned continual and sometimes even extensive movements, so that anything in the nature of rigidly-defined tribal areas probably did not exist.[1]

In South-West Africa, where grass is more easily found than water, stress was laid particularly on the possession of waterholes, and little care was otherwise taken to define the boundaries between the different tribes more clearly. Different fountains or pools in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes. This, Mrs. Hoernlé points out, did not mean that other people could not use the water, but that one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that members of any other tribe intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so. She quotes in this connection an old document in which the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his waterholes. He gives them permission to stay, but states firmly that this does not mean he gives over the fountain to them. "The water is my water," he says again and again.[2]

With the coming of the Orlams from the south and the pressure of the OvaHerero advancing from the north, territorial disputes in Great Namaqualand became more frequent, and increasing emphasis was laid on the recognition of tribal boundaries. Intrusion was not readily allowed, but, on the contrary, deeply resented. If a tribe wished to move into the territory of another, application had first to be made to the chief of the resident tribe. If the two were on friendly terms, permission might be given freely; but if relations were not too good, a tribute was generally demanded as acknowledgment of the resident

[1] Cf. Snow, *Native Races*, 238 sqq.; Goddé-Mulsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap in de Hollandse Tijd*, vols. I and II *passim*.

[2] "Social Organization of the Nama," 6. The document referred to is published in *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1854, p. 153.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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423 619 648 tribe's ownership and supremacy over the area. And so we see, for instance, that the Orlams when they penetrated north of the Orange River found the indigenous Nama tribes tolerating their presence only on condition that they recognized the jurisdiction of the chief in whose territory they settled, and that as an outward mark of submission they paid him an annual tribute of cattle or horses in return for the right to live and graze their herds on his lands. The effect of this restriction may easily be imagined. No sooner had the newcomers [721] settled down and become accustomed to their surroundings than they refused to pay any further tribute. In the inevitable wars that followed the Nama were no match for their better armed and more experienced adversaries. Before very many years had passed the order of things was reversed, and the Orlams were dominant, while almost all the indigenous tribes either were absorbed or retained their lands on the same terms of tribute and vassalage as they had formerly exacted.[1]

619 423 486 How jealous was the regard for boundary and territorial rights in these days may be seen from the following incident. In 1889 the //Hobesen chief Hendrik Witbooi rather went out of his way while travelling from Keetmanshoep to Gibeon, and passed with his men over a corner of the lands claimed by the Bondelswarts of Warmbad. Whereupon Willem Christian, the Bondelswart chief, wrote him a strong letter of protest. "Such circumstances," says Willem, "are likely to cause dissatisfaction"; and if the "dear captain" required anything in his area it was only right first to apply for permission to enter, and to await the reply before doing anything. This would have avoided "misunderstandings"; "for it is beyond my comprehension that one chief should enter another chief's area without notifying him and making a request."[2]

619 423 On the whole, therefore, it would seem that although every Hottentot tribe had a claim, established by long exploitation, over a certain stretch of land, other tribes might seek and obtain permission not only to pass through this territory, but even to make use of its water and pastures, on condition that the prior rights of the resident tribe were recognized and acknowledged. Permission might, of course, be refused, and sometimes was, when war would probably result if encroachment nevertheless took place. But the extensive wanderings of the different Cape Hottentot tribes in the early days of the Dutch settlement imply that here, at least, little objection was raised as a

[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.* (Cd. 9146), 70, 73–4; Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 4.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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439 609 to trade with the Naman, while from the beginnings of the European settlement white traders have moved freely among the Hottentots. No objection seems to have been raised as a rule to strangers coming in this way into the lands of the tribe. Only when misunderstandings arose or quarrels were provoked through high-handed treatment would trouble ensue. This happened in 1497, and Vasco da Gama, [721] the first European to meet with the Hottentots, came into conflict with them in St. Helena Bay, and again in 1510, when Francisco d'Almeida, late viceroy of Portuguese India, was killed with sixty-four of his men in a skirmish with the Hottentots of Table Bay. But on the whole the earliest travellers who, prompted by motives of trade or by curiosity, pushed on to previously unknown tribes, speak of a friendly and even cordial reception.

609 574 485 In one instance at least there is a record of special usages governing the reception of strangers in more recent times. The missionary Hugo Hahn, who in 1844 visited Oasib, chief of the *Gei ǁKhauan*, writes as follows: "I was received very cordially, and was also given a sheep for slaughter. There has existed in this tribe for some years a sort of police who see to it that every convenience is afforded to strangers—Nama, Bastards, or Europeans. When the traveller descends and outspans, special functionaries take his horse or his oxen, remove the saddle, give the animals water, lead them to pasture and at night bring them into safety from the lions. They take care that he receives enough milk, often also meat, as well as water and wood, and that he is not troubled by the children or other people. He is given a special mat hut, roomy and clean, in which he can rest. If he is alone, one of the men must sleep with him, who keeps the fire going or performs any other necessary services. For me a special sleeping place was prepared, as they know our aversion to lice. When the traveller wishes to depart, he informs one of the attendants, who tells the chief, and at the time indicated his ox or his horse is ready for him, even if it is in the middle of the night. No one thinks of demanding or giving payment. Probably," he goes on to say, "this is a renewal of some good old custom, as I do not know of its like in any of the other tribes."[1]

609 574 Theophilus Hahn also speaks very highly of the great hospitality to strangers, but adds that if the guest does not ingratiate himself sufficiently, it may well happen that, once they have passed the

[1] *Tagebuch*, entry under 18th September, 1844, published in Moritz, "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über D.S.W.A.," 1916, p. 191.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Cape Hottentots

boundaries of the tribe, his escort, believing that they have now shifted the odium for the deed, may allow their avarice to come to the fore and will plunder all his goods.[1] It is evident, however, that the Hottentots in general are friendly to strangers, and willingly allow them to pass through the land, even if permission has not first been obtained. There is none of that rigid insistence on territorial exclusiveness which has made the Bushmen fight shy of any intrusion upon their lands.

Warfare

Where, however, parties of strangers entering the land wish to make use of it for pasturing their herds or for hunting, permission must first be obtained from the chief. This, as we have seen, is often given freely, while on the other hand a tribute may sometimes be demanded, as the Orlams found when they came into Great Namaqualand. At times permission may even be refused altogether, especially if there is not enough grass or water for all. If encroachment nevertheless takes place, it leads almost inevitably to war. Quarrels over intrusions of this sort are recorded among the Hottentots from the earliest historical times, and are said to have been the most frequent cause of war between neighbouring tribes. Cattle-lifting, especially when the herds have been allowed whether by accident or design to stray over the border, deliberate damage to another tribe's pasture grounds by setting fire to the grass, and the abduction of women are also mentioned as common causes of dispute. Reprisals were sure to follow, and when the one side sought to defend its possessions actual fighting took place. Some of the Cape Hottentot tribes, as a result of such grievances, were almost perpetually at feud with each other, and many are the little wars between them which figure in the early Cape Records.

These wars do not seem to have been attended with much loss of life.[2] The weapons employed were the same as those used in hunting—the spear, bow and arrow, and the kirri. Before commencing hostilities the injured side might send messengers to their opponents, stating the wrongs of which they complained and demanding adequate satisfaction. If this was refused, all the men of the tribe, under the leadership of their chief, would meet at some appointed place, and

[1] "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 305–6; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 362.
[2] Gouvernbrouck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 368–9; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 140–8; Fritsch, op. cit., 333–4; Stow, op. cit., chaps. xiv–xvi, *passim*; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, vol. ii, *passim*.

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After the death of his father, /Hôa-/arab, with his brother as well as his followers went to stay with a farmer called Pienaar. This man gave him another name which could be pronounced more easily and called him Afrikaner. Pienaar treated his people badly, and it came to a rupture. Titus shot his master and Afrikaner's relations murdered Pienaar's wife and children and, fleeing, they drove all the cattle in the direction of the Orange River, not to be within reach of the Police and to be safeguarded against prosecution. These people possessed many rifles, for Pienaar, as farm Police, used to take his people with him on his notorious raids in order to clear the neighbourhood of Hottentot and Bushmen thieves.

These firearms gave this tribe a great superiority over their neighbours at the Orange River. They invaded Afrikanerkraal on the southern bank of the Orange River. Even Warmbad was assaulted by the Afrikaners and the missionary station burnt down.

The Cape Government set a price of £150 on Jager's head. While stationed at Afrikanerkraal Jager came in contact with some missionaries. Moffat, Livingstone's father-in-law, was working there from September, 1817, up to October, 1818, after the missionary Ebner had christened Jager and a number of his people on the 23rd July, 1815. In the year 1819 Jager, who was henceforth called Christian, made a journey to Cape Town in company of his missionary, where he was received by the Governor himself, pardoned and presented with a gift. Jager, alias Christian, died in the year 1823. He had conferred the Chieftainship on his energetic son Jonker, although it was not due to him. Jonker secured the greatest part of the retinue and moved northward, led a nomadic life and ultimately settled in Windhoek, where he subjugated the Herero and brought the Nama under his sway and died in Okahandja in 1861. His grave is covered with a heap of almost unrecognisable stones, just as the tribe of this "Napoleon of the South" has vanished without glory or even leaving a trace.

III. Wars and Decline.

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1. Shortly after the invasion of the Orlam in about the year 1830, strenuous fighting was going on between the Nama and the Herero.

The Herero exhibited a tendency to rove further and further south and their cattle were already grazing as far as the territory of Rehoboth. The Nama, whose pastures had

already been limited by the immigration of the Orlam, showed a tendency to move from the south to the north and north-east and thus had to meet the Herero in the north and the Mbanderu in the north-east. Many battles were fought in which they fought for two things, extermination of the enemy and for the possession of his cattle. As a rule the Nama were less fortunate than the Herero in these pillaging expeditions. 175 721

2. In these distressing circumstances the female Chief of the Red Nation turned to Jonker Afrikaner, whose troops, although not many, were superior to the Herero by reason of the possession of fire-arms, while the latter still used to fight with arrow, bow, club and spear after the old fashion. Jonker in conjunction with the Red Nation and allied tribes drove the Herero back, wandered to and fro in Namaland for quite a long time and settled eventually in Windhoek about the year 1835. A man with very high aspirations and unbridled desires for power, he aimed at becoming sovereign chief of the Nama tribe and at the same time forcing the Herero under his sway.

For this purpose he chose his capital seat strategically, right between these two tribes in the centre of the country. At Christmas, 1842, a temporary peace was made between him and the Herero, but did not last long. Jonker was visited by traders who sold large quantities of brandy to him, furnished him with guns, gunpowder and lead, and advised him to settle his heavy accounts with cattle from the Herero herds. 728

3. As early as 1846 Jonker broke the peace and made a renewed attack on the Herero, whose most powerful chief, Tjamuaha, lived in Okahandja. After a terrible massacre on August 23rd, 1850, at Okahandja, in which many Herero men were slain, and many women crippled to obtain the copper rings they wore round their legs, by chopping off their feet, the opposition of the Herero was so broken that Tjamuaha placed himself under Jonker's protection to save himself and his cattle, and the chief of the Herero became Jonker's first servant. The latter furnished him with guns and ordered him to rob his own subjects so as to enable Jonker to meet his trading debts.

At that time many Herero fled to the north with their herds, while others returned to the Kaokoveld so as to be safe from their own chief Tjamuaha, but Jonker, in order to make the suppression of the Herero complete, went to Okahandja.

4. When death overtook him there on August 18th, 1861, he had attained through numerous raids and battles, what he aimed at; instead of the former predominance of the Red Nation, the Afrikaners were the leaders of the Nama tribe in war and in peace and the Herero had to pay tribute to the Nama. However, this supreme sovereignty did not last long. Tjamuaha, "Jonker's dog," also died. His successor was the determined Maharero, while Jonker was succeeded by the weakling, Christian Afrikaner.

175 721 Maharero left Okahandja all of a sudden and went to Otjimbingue, where he gathered all available Hereros round him. Christian feeling himself too weak unaided to seize him there, especially as Maharero had furnished his people with firearms, called the Nama tribes to his assistance. On June 15th, 1863, in a decisive battle at Otjimbingue the Nama were totally defeated and Christian, as well as the Chief of Bethanie, lost their lives.

[728] Christian's successor was Jonker's nephew, Jan Jonker Afrikaner. He also suffered many defeats from Maharero, till ultimately in 1870 the Peace of Okahandja was made, whereby Jan Jonker took possession of Windhoek in fee to the Herero and pledged himself to observe peace.

5. There followed ten years of peace. It is worth noting that during this time Mr. Palgrave concluded treaties of protection with the Nama and Herero chiefs by order of the Cape Government, in order to restore peace to the disorganised country by bringing it under the supreme power of the Cape Government. Protective treaties were unknown to the Herero and Nama and so much was promised on both sides that they were signed without much opposition by well-nigh all the chiefs, but new riots brought these treaties to a sudden end. While Palgrave was in Gobabis discussing the matter with the Nama chiefs there, some Herero herdsmen were slain by the Nama. Immediately after receiving this news Maharero had all Nama, residing in Okahandja, killed. This happened on August 23rd, 1880, exactly thirty years after the massacre by Jonker in Okahandja. He also gave orders for all Namas in Hereroland to be killed. A cry of indignation went up through all Namaland. Mr. Palgrave, who was afraid that his treaties with the Nama chiefs in Gobabis might induce chief Maharero to turn against him personally, went back to Walfisch Bay as fast as possible and left the country, and as the Cape Parliament did not seem very anxious to bring restless South West Africa under its rule, nothing resulted from his mission.

6. The indignant Nama of almost all the tribes gathered round Jan Jonker Afrikaner. But the Herero also mobilised and stormed Windhoek, the capital of the Afrikaners, and razed the mission station there to the ground. On the 11th and 12th of December in a fierce battle at Otjikongo near Okahandja, the Nama were completely beaten. Jan Jonker just managed to save himself with a few Afrikaners, but his power was broken and the supreme power of the Afrikaners over the Nama passed into the hands of the Orlam tribe residing in Gibeon. Jan hid himself in the Gaus Mountains and wrought much damage to the Herero by incessant pillaging expeditions.

7. Moses Witbooi, the chief of the Orlam at Gibeon then became spokesman and supreme ruler of the Nama. Imbued with a spirit of ineradicable hatred against the Herero he

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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instigated another campaign against them, which on September 22nd came to a battle. On both sides more soldiers had been raised than ever before. Again were the Nama defeated, and had to deliver up all wagons, ammunition and horses to the Herero. The missionary Hahn tried to establish peace on behalf of the Cape Government, but not one of the Nama chiefs was willing to participate in the peace negotiations, and a separate treaty only was entered into by the Herero and Rehoboth Bastards, who had taken over this territory from the Swartbooïs ten years previously, and had had to suffer very much as a buffer state between the quarrelsome Nama and Herero. 175 721

8. Then Moses Witbooi decided to punish the disloyal Bastards who were thus compelled to cast themselves on the mercy of the Herero. The latter consequently again entered Namaland with their herds and the Nama were once more driven to defend themselves. In addition to this Moses Witbooi undertook marauding expeditions against the Bastards, never dreaming that for this he would have an opponent, in his own son, the clever and energetic teacher at Gibeon, Hendrik Witbooi, who wanted his father to restore the stolen cattle to the Bastards.

For this reason father and son fell out and Hendrik migrated to the south in order to furnish himself with ammunition and arms. In June, 1884, he was so well armed that he decided to undertake a campaign against the Herero with his own train of followers, which had been strengthened by an influx of Jan Jonker's people. If his father had done his utmost to secure the supreme reign over the Nama tribes after the Afrikaner tribe had become practically powerless, then Hendrik strove still more vigorously after it. It was not due so much to the hatred against the Herero that the teacher became an army leader, but to the conviction that he as conqueror of the Herero, which he believed himself to be destined for by God, could convincingly prove his qualification as supreme ruler of the Nama. Maharero, who had knowledge of everything that was going on and was determined not to be taken unawares by the Nama in Okahandja again, had already pitched a camp beyond the boundaries of Hereroland and awaited Hendrik. A fight lasting three days ensued in [728] which, however, neither side fought very enthusiastically; and as soon as the cry for peace was raised by the ranks of the Herero, Hendrik was not unwilling to arouse that spirit on his side too, and to enter into a treaty of peace with the Herero. Points of issue were soon settled and Hendrik entered Gibeon as the great conqueror.

9. Evidently both sides were not very serious as regards this peace. Hendrik armed himself again and tried to increase his troops, and on October 14th, 1885, felt himself so strong that he tried to raid Okahandja, but did not succeed.

175 At Osona, one hour south of Okahandja, a strenuous battle
721 was fought in which the Nama were utterly defeated, 130 horses, all the draught oxen, wagons and ammunition falling into the hands of the Herero and Hendrik just managed to escape with his life. Then Hendrik determined to take a sanguinary revenge. In 1886 he tried to take Okahandja by surprise, but he was driven back and as quite an exceptional case was pursued on the instigation of the Christian Herero and chased till in the vicinity of Rehoboth. His power was destroyed. Henceforth he indulged in mere marauding expeditions against the Herero. When in 1887 Chief Moses Witbooi was murdered, Hendrik took over the captaincy of the tribe. After the murderer of his father had been slain, Hendrik, annoyed at the fact that Jan Jonker was still supreme ruler of the Nama, turned against him and also because he had received news of treaties by Jan Jonker with Hendrik's opponents. Going in quest of Jan in his retreat on the Swakop, Hendrik killed him, ravaged his camp and returned to Gibeon. Thus came to its end the Afrikaner tribe which had once been so powerful!

The Red Nation also, disorganised for fear of Hendrik, after the death of their chief led a marauding life, and thus Hendrik arrived at a very favourable position towards becoming chief ruler of Namaland.

10. Hendrik had a permanent abode at Hoornkranz, north of Rehoboth. Convinced after a good many battles that he could not subdue the Herero in open warfare, he tried to weaken them by raids and marauding expeditions for which enterprises Hoornkranz was very favourably situated. There not only was he near the Herero herds, but could bring the booty easily into safety, and in the inaccessible ravines there was no need to fear the persecution of the Herero. From there he also attacked the southern Nama tribes, which failed to recognise him as their Chief, and he sent out a proclamation to all Nama chiefs in which he proclaimed himself Chief of all Namaland.

11. In this restless decade it happened that on August 6th, 1884, the German flag was hoisted at Luderitzbucht, that the Nama and the Herero chiefs entered into treaties of protection with the German Government, and that Windhuk was decided upon as the capital of South West Africa in order to serve as a wedge between the quarrelling tribes, and a small colonial force endeavoured to restore peace and order. On being summoned to enter a defensive alliance Hendrik opposed this stubbornly. He threatened to chastise the chiefs who had signed the document and thus remained, as he had been and still was, a danger to both the north and the south. On October 7th, 1870 Maharero died and his son Samuel became chief in his stead.

With anxiety Hendrik found that Samuel was entering into closer relationship with the Germans instead of with-

drawing from them and he thought it wiser to make peace with the Herero so as not to have to take up arms against two enemies perhaps later on. 175 721

Captain von Francois, Commissioner of the German Government, now prohibited the import of fire-arms and ammunition and made preliminary arrangements for the subjugation of Hendrik.

After the German Colonial force had been strengthened in 1893 he ventured to attack Hendrik in his mountain fortress, but it was his successor, Major Th. Leutwein, who eventually succeeded in his ultimate subjection towards the middle of September, 1894.

Hendrik then made a treaty with the representatives of the German Government whereby Gibeon was granted him as residence; he became recognised chief of the tribe and was compelled to join the army with his people on being summoned by the German Government. Up to 1904 Hendrik abided by this treaty and South West enjoyed a time of peace, except for a few minor disturbances and local rebellions. [728]

12. In October, 1903, the Bondelswarts, resident in Warmbad on the northern bank of the Orange River, attempted to free themselves from the suzerainty of the German Government. They were led by Morenga, whose father was an Herero and his mother a Nama. His assistant leader was Morris, the son of a European and a woman from the Bondelswart tribe. At the commencement Hendrik Witbooi, with 80 recruits, assisted in the suppression of the rebellion. The Governor, Leutwein, in order to suppress the riots in the south as soon as possible, had gathered all available troops from the north. The Herero took their opportunity and in the beginning of January, 1904, Samuel Maharero gave the order for all farmers in the Herero country to be murdered. The whole of the Herero tribe rose in rebellion. On January the 27th, 1904, Leutwein concluded the Peace of Kalkfontein with the Bondelswarts whereby the Warmbad reserve was granted to them and they were compelled to deliver up 300 guns. [728]

By forced marches the troops went to the north. When, on August the 11th and 12th, at the battle at Waterberg, led by General Trotha, Leutwein's successor, the Herero were annihilated, Hendrik Witbooi's troops were still on the side of the Germans.

13. Morenga at Warmbad did not abide by the terms of the peace of Kalkfontein, for during the first months of the Herero War he had disturbed the eastern boundaries of Namaland with his bands. When the rest of the Nama chiefs saw that he was successful, they also joined in the rebellion with the exception of the tribes at Berseba and Bethanie. Even Hendrik Witbooi lent his ear to a missionary of the Ethiopian Society from Port Elizabeth and participated in the hostilities.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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175 The farmers were murdered and the farms robbed and plun-
721 dered; but it was not until November, 1904, that the German troops could take the offensive. Though Hendrik's people suffered a heavy defeat at Kub on the 22nd of November, 1904, and sustained great losses in the battle at Naris on the 4th of December, yet their power was not yet broken. A guerilla war then went on until Hendrik ultimately fell on the farm Witbooisende, near Vaalgras, and dying, ordered his people to give up the struggle as he wished "his children to have peace."

14. However, the opposition of the remaining tribes was not yet done away with. Part of the Nama tribe of Bethanie hid themselves in the Tiras Mountains and wrought much havoc amongst the German troops, until Christian Goliath, the chief of Berseba, induced them to surrender. Morenga and Morris, as well as the Bondelswarts, continued the guerilla war, assisted by the rough nature of the country. Morenga's band, driven into a narrow corner, escaped the German forces by entering English territory, that is to say by crossing the Orange River and hiding themselves on its southern bank.

At last the Cape Government ordered Morenga to be arrested; which was done by Colonel Elliot on September 20th, 1907, not, however, before Morenga received a fatal wound in the skirmish that ensued.

The Nama under the leadership of Simon Koper, who had escaped into the Kalahari, were still up in arms. After tremendous pains and a good deal of strategy they were also subdued by Captain Friedrich von Erskert, on whom the duty of their punishment had been imposed and who succumbed to a hostile bullet.

175 15. With this battle the war in Namaland terminated, and
178 the rivalry between the chiefs came to an end, for the Nama realised that although they had it in their power to destroy one another, they could not withstand a European force; and they then resorted to peaceful cattle farming in the reserves around Warmbad and Berseba. The men set out to earn bread for themselves and their families on farms, the diamond fields at Luderitzbucht, and went into service in the quickly developing townships.

[728] By the peace of Korab on July 7th, 1915, Namaland came
[197] under the Administration of the Union Government. The Evangelic and Catholic Mission has done splendid work in christianising and educating the different tribes. More than a thousand Nama children attend the missionary schools, which are fortunately supported and controlled by the Government. The Bondelswarts tribe, however, again manifested a tendency to revolt, but with no far-reaching effects, as their prompt suppression safeguarded the rest of Namaland from new distress.

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000 Des jaers zestien hondert en negen-en-vijftigh, ontstont tusschen de volken *Goringhaiquas* of Kaepmans, en d'onzen daer te lande een heftigh oorlogh, over de bezitting en toe-eigeningh van het lant ontrent de kaep, daer de Kaepmans d'onzen trachten uit te stoten; met voorwenden van aller eeuwen her dat bezeten te hebben. In dien oorlog boden hen de *Gorachouquas* of Tabaks-dieven doorgaens bystant, en velden velen van ons volk, daer kans viel om hen te bespringen, met assagayen ter neer, en bragtense jammerlijk om den hals: t'effens beroofden zy den onzen ook van beesten, gerechtelijk voor koopmanschappen aen hen geruilt, die zy hen zoo snellijk ontjaeghden, dat zy niet te beschieten waeren; nemende al meest hun slaegh waer, by ongestuimigh en regenachtigh weder; wel bewust dat dan met het geweer zeer weinigh konde uitgerecht worden.

Deze treken en wetenschap hadden zy bekomen uit berecht van eenen van hun eigen volk by hen genaemt *Nommod*, en by d'onzen *Doman*, die te *Batavie*, (derwaerts overgevaren, met een schip van de Kompanjie,) zich vier of vijf jaren had opgehouden, en den omgangh der Neerlanders wel bezichtight, ook zelfs geen kleen gedeelte daer van ingezogen. *Doman*, dan, met de schepen, (herwaerts na Hollandt verordent,) weer aen de Kaap gekomen, hielt zich een lange wijle in Neerlantsche kleding by d'onzen, maer begaf zich eindelik weder onder die Kaepmans, maekende hen het doen en den omgang der Neerlanders, en de maniere van hun geweer volkomelijk bekent.

Hy, t'effens met noch een anderen strijdtbaren krijghsknecht, geheten by de Hottentots *Garabinga*, en by de Neerlanders *Plat-neus*, zijn altijts de voor-vechters geweest, en hebben altijts het spits in het aenvallen voor afgebeten, zonder dat zy oit, van wegen hunne overgrote raddigheit, door heimelijke wachten van ruiterye of voet-knechten t'achterhalen waren.

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721 [15]) For a summary description of this "war," see Theal, op cit., 99-101. Van Riebeeck, in the memorandum he prepared for his successor, says of the Goringhaiqua: "They are those who pretend that this Cape land has during all the centuries been their own, and seeing that we had permanently established ourselves here as agriculturists, according to their own statement, made war against us in 1659, in consequence of the rude behaviour towards them of some of the freemen" (*Letters Desp.*, iii, 239).

159 177 [16]) He belonged to the group of Capemen, and was called Doman or Dominie by the Dutch, "because he was such a very simple-minded man" (D. Nov. 12, 1655). He had lived with the Dutch for some time, and was believed to be attached to them and faithful to their interests. In April 1657 he accompanied van Goens, after-

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One morning in June 1659, after the war had already lasted three months, five Hottentots (including this Doman) were overtaken by five of our horsemen as they were running off with two cattle which they had stolen from a certain free burgher. A sharp skirmish ensued. The Hottentots, seeing no possible means of flight nor desiring any mercy, defended themselves valiantly. They wounded two of the horsemen, one through the arm and under the lower ribs, and the other in the spine. But our countrymen repaid the debt by wounding three of them with the gun, and stabbing the other two dead with their own weapons. One of the three who were shot, a man named Eykamma, was taken to the Fort on a horse, with his neck pierced, his leg shattered, and a severe wound in the head; but Doman, with the other, escaped by jumping over a stream eight feet wide, after which flight proved their best weapon and salvation.[18])

[481]

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The wounded Eykamma, brought into the Fort, was asked why his people had made war against our countrymen, and tried to cause damage everywhere by killing, plundering and burning. Well-nigh overcome by the pain of his severe wounds, he replied by asking why the Dutch had ploughed over the land of the Hottentots, and sought to take the bread out of their mouth by sowing corn on the lands to which they had to drive their cattle for pasture; adding that they had never had other or better grazing grounds. The reason for all their attacks, he continued, was nothing else than to revenge themselves for the harm and injustice done to them: since they not only were commanded to keep away from certain of their grazing grounds, which they had always possessed undisturbed and only allowed us at first to use as a refreshment station, but they also saw their lands divided out amongst us without their knowledge by the heads of the settlement, and boundaries put up within which they might not pasture. He asked finally what we would have done had the same thing happened to us. Moreover, he added, they observed how we were strengthening ourselves daily with fortifications and bulwarks, which according to their way of thinking could have no other object than to bring them and all that was theirs under our authority and domination.[19]) To this our men replied:

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and that everywhere with houses and plantations we endeavoured to establish ourselves so permanently as if we intended never to leave again, but take permanent possession of this Cape land (which had belonged to them during all the centuries) for our sole use; yea! to such an extent that their cattle could not come and drink at the fresh water without going over the corn lands, which we did not like them to do", etc. (*Letters desp.*, iii, 128.)

[721]

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600 leet en ongelijk, hen aengedaen, te wreken: naerdien zy niet alleen verbodt kregen zich t'onthouden van deze en gene wey-plaetzen voor hun vee, daerze die van alle eeuwen her onbemoeit beseten, en ons in den beginne maer toegelaten hadden, de landen te gebruiken tot een verversch-plaetse; maer zagen ook hun landeryen, zonder hen te kennen, onder d'onzen door d'opperhoofden wierden uitgedeelt, en hen palen gestelt, binnen de welke zy niet mogten weiden; vragende eindelijk of ons zulx geschiede, hoe wy ons in dat stuk zouden dragen? vernamen daer en boven, hoe wy ons dagelix van vest en bolwerken versterkten, het welk, huns bedunkens, tot geen ander einde te zullen strekken, dan om hen en 't hunne allengs onder gebiet, en de voet op den nek te krijgen. Zy hadden, gaven d'onzen weer tot antwoort, dit lant ontrent de kaep, door den oorlogh nu t'eenemael verloren, en noit derhalve hunne gedachten daer over te laten gaen het zelve by vrede of oorlog te zullen weder krijgen.

De laetste rede van dezen *Eykamma*, die ten zesten daghe quam t'overlijden, was, dat hy slechts een gering perzoon was, maer men zijnen overste daer over aen het Fort t'ontbieden hadde, en met die de zaken t'overleggen, om elk het zijn te herstellen, of zoodanigh, als het beste konde gevonden worden, tot staken van het onderling schade en hinder doen. Dit dan voor goet gekeurt, wierden twee of drie Neerlanders uitgezonden, met verslag aen den Overste *Gogosoa* om in het Fort te komen, en onder elkandre een verdragh van vrede op te rechten. Dan alles wiert vergeefs aangewent: want schoon onder hen door den voorverhaelden aenslag, wel een schrik gebragt was, zy voeren echter, daer zy kans zagen, met de wapenen even heftigh voort, zulx men geen middel wist te beramen, om dit geschil ten oorbaerste te beslechten. Weinigh holp ook het stellen

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721 [20]) This statement was actually made not to Eykamma but to the Capemen when they came to sue for peace. Van Riebeeck says: "They pressed this point so hard that their lands should be evacuated by us, that we were finally compelled to say, that in consequence of the war made against us, they had completely forfeited their rights, and that we were not inclined to restore them, as the country had become the property of the Company by the sword and the rights of war" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 166; cf. D., April 5, 1660.)

[21]) Once more Dapper is inaccurate. Eykamma was captured on July 19, and died in the Fort on Tuesday, Aug. 12, 1660 (cf. D, *ut cit.*).

728 159 [22]) This famous character, whose Hottentot name is always given by van Riebeeck as Autoehamao, had been with the English to Bantam before the establishment of the Dutch settlement at the Cape, had picked up some "broken English", and later also

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"your people have now once for all lost the land around the Cape through war, and you must accordingly never dwell on the idea of getting it back again through peace or through war."[20]) 721

Eykamma died on the sixth day.[21]) His last words were that he was only an insignificant person, but that he thought we should summon his chief to the Fort and discuss with the latter the possibility of restoring to each what was his, or of making whatever arrangement might be found best to put an end to the reciprocal damage and inconvenience. This being approved, two or three Dutchmen were sent to request Chief Gogosoa to come to the Fort, so that a mutual treaty of peace could be established. But the attempt was all in vain; for although the blow mentioned above had scared them, they nevertheless carried on fighting with the same vehemence wherever they saw a chance, so that we could think of no means of bringing this dispute to the most suitable close. It also helped but little to place good guards everywhere among the free farmers living about an hour or two from the Fort, since these Hottentots, owing to their great agility and swiftness, were able to drive away from our countrymen the cattle and sheep which went out to graze by day, and to carry them off without ever being overtaken.

This war, in which our countrymen were killed, plundered and robbed by the savages, had already lasted ten or eleven months before the dispute was settled in the following way. A certain Hottentot of importance, known to our countrymen as Harry and to his own people as Kamcemoea,[22]) had been banished to Robben Island for some offence committed against us. One dark night, after a stay of three months 728 159

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learned some words of Dutch from the sailors of the wrecked "Haarlem." In consequence, van Riebeeck used him as an interpreter in the cattle trade, but as he obviously served his own interests rather than those of the Dutch, he soon gave rise to dissatisfaction. He deserted the Fort in Oct. 1653, after a Dutch shepherd had been murdered by some of his Hottentots, and did not reappear until June 1655, when for reasons of policy he was received back into favour. Once more his interference led to a disruption of the cattle trade, and the signs of his complicity in cattle thefts from the Dutch became so evident that at last, in July 1658, he was banished to Robben Island and all the cattle which he had appropriated for himself confiscated. He was brought back the following year to guide the Dutch to the camps of the enemy Hottentot tribes, but failed to do so, and was sent back to the island, whence he subsequently escaped. After the war he again frequented the Fort, and died soon after van Riebeeck left the Cape, some time in 1663. (D. passim; cf. Bosman, "Uit die Biografie van 'n Hottentot," *Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns*, x, 143-81.) 728 159

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Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1659 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described [63].

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner [64]. It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root *dacha*, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze [65].

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brasscoloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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respect renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 220).

[64]) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a curtesie taught them by some ill-bred Boore, our men I hope have more civility" (*Some Yeares' Travel into Asia and Afrique*, 16.) Cf. also Ten Rhyne (below, p. 115)

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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effusis collibus, & per immensum spargentibus oculos, coelum montibus suspensa terra diversissima *plantarum* gratia praedivites *Semiramidis Alcinoive* hortos, aut *Elysios* in ipso deserto campos aemulari videbatur: ubi cumulatissimam earundem ilico conquisivi sarcinam, ut viva exemplaria *botanosophis Musis* imposterum offerrem. Miratus praesertim ingentem *gummosae aloes* copiam, quae milliena aliquot *amarissimi succi* pondera industrio quotannis expromere posset. Tum ad valetudinariam & jam pene agonizantem navim revocabat vespera *venatores*, petrosum maris tegentes[a] in reditu litus, multivario *ostracodermatôn* genere conspersum. Inde fortuitis nos subducentes periculis (quippe *Belgae* octo *hippopotamorum* venationi insudantes, miserrime nuper ibidem ab *Hottentottis* confecti erant) sublestam repetimus acatio ratem; qua postridie, propitio extra sinum argeste (N.W.) solvimus; a meridie praeternavigantes [b]) *Daxinsulam*, paucis servatam excubiis [c]) *marinorum cuniculorum* capturae, *ovisumque* pastioni ab *Illustriss. orientalium Indiarum societate*, decore ac praesidio nostro summo, designatis.

Pridie Iduum Octobris, sub noctem tranquillus ad litora nos impellebat mesolibonatus (Z.T.W.) ad viginti trés profunditatis orgyias ancoram fundantes.

[a]) I conjecture legentes.
[b]) Dassen Eylant.
[c]) Robben.

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* This collection was sent from India to the botanist Breyn, and forms an appendix to *Plantarum exoticarum Centuria prima*, published by him in Dantzig in 1678 (B.P.)

[1]) This refers to a party of eight freemen who had gone with the governor's permission, in June 1673, to shoot big game for the needs of their families. They crossed the Berg River at a ford near Riebeeck's Kasteel and went up into the mountains beyond Twenty-Four Rivers. There, at a place which long afterwards bore the name Moord Kuil, they were surrounded by Gonnema's Kochoqua, who after detaining them for several days murdered them all. (Theal, *Hist. of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, 212; cf. D., June 29, July 11, July 14, 1673.) Soon afterwards four men in

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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vast expanse of heaven, and earth with the varied charm of many plants seemed to rival the rich gardens of Semiramis or Alcinous, or to present a vision of the Elysian fields in the midst of a wilderness. Of these plants I forthwith collected a generous supply that I might afterwards make offering of the actual specimens to the Botanical Muses.* I specially admired the enormous abundance of gum aloes, capable of an annual yield of thousands of pounds of bitter juice if cultivated. Then the approach of evening recalled us from our hunting to our ship where there were many sick men already almost at the last gasp. On our return we skirted a stony beach covered with a rich variety of shell fish. Then escaping without hurt from the dangers that might befall us (I must explain that eight Dutchmen recently who were hunting the hippopotamus perished wretchedly at the hands of the Hottentots on this very spot)[1] we regained our crazy bark in the dinghy. Next day we weighed anchor, picking up a fair N.W. breeze outside the bay, and in the afternoon we sailed past Dassen Island, which is occupied only by a few posts established by the Illustrious East India Company, our great glory and protection, for catching seals and pasturing the sheep.

On the 14th of October at the fall of night a gentle S.W. breeze carried us to the shore and we cast anchor in 23 fathoms of water.

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charge of the Dutch post at Saldanha Bay were also murdered by Hottentots of the same tribe. A punitive expedition under Ensign Hieronymus Cruse was despatched from the Fort at Table Bay, but the Hottentots could not be got at, except for one slight skirmish, although 500 head of cattle and 900 sheep were looted from them and brought back to the Fort. The war which started in this way dragged on for four years, the Dutch, assisted by the Capemen and other local Hottentots, sending out several expeditions against Gonnema, who with his men always managed to escape in time, although not without the loss of his cattle and sheep. Peace was finally restored in June, 1677, when the Hottentots submitted and promised to pay tribute to the Dutch. (Theal, op. cit., chaps. 30, 31, passim; D. 1673-1677, passim.)

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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Nama

2. The second tribe is that of the Namaquas.[7]) They maintain the following fashion in dress peculiar to themselves: whereas the others wear skins of foxes or goats, they cover their nakedness with a lattice of elephant's tooth.[8]) They are better protected in war than the rest, having almost impenetrable shields.[9])

3. After them come the *Sousoas*,[10]) with the same mental and physical equipment as our Hottentots.

4. Next are the *Sonquas*,[11]) who for just occasion were bereft of their cattle by our countrymen, with the result that they live in the woods and are forced to seek a means of livelihood in the desert, chiefly by hunting wild animals.

5. Their neighbours are the *Gregoriquas*.[12])

6. The *Honnimas*[13]) are the last of this hostile array. With them we are at war by reason of divers murders perpetrated on our countrymen. Their chief captain, *Honnima* by name, is old and lame, but a vigorous soldier.

7. Finally those who mingle freely with our men about the Castle form auxiliary troops. The general in command of them is called Claes, and the second in command is Captain Cuyper,[14]) both excellent soldiers and tacticians. And indeed I myself have often seen them, a pair of beggars, with their ragged crew at their heels. To the latter, with his retinue of six attendants, I have often supplied the pinch of tobacco for which he begged, holding a little conversation with him in French.

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[14]) Claes (Klaas, known to the Hottentots as Dorha) was head of a Chainouqua clan. He first came into prominence about 1673, and was for many years a firm supporter and cattle trader of the Dutch, and regarded as their most faithful ally. He was on hostile terms with Gonnema, and fought against him in the war of 1673-77, hence Ten Rhyne's reference to "auxiliary troops". "Claas with his rival Captain Koopman became chiefs of the Chainouquas on the death of Sousoa. In 1691 he was confined on Robben Island by Simon van der Stel for robbing Koopman of his cattle. Koopman during his exile took the wife of Claas. When he returned from banishment to his grazing grounds beyond Sir Lowry Pass his wife attempted to rejoin him. She was overtaken by Koopman and stoned to death. Claas was killed in the winter of 1701 while searching for a strayed or stolen ox near Koopman's kraal" (Mossop, *V.R.S.* 12, 209 n). Cuyper (or rather de Cuyper, "the cooper"), first mentioned D. July 6, 1698, was head of one of the Goringhaiqua kraals. In the agreement of May 5, 1673, by which "the minor chief Dhouw, hereditary sovereign of the country called by us Hottentoos Holland," sold that land to the Dutch, reference is made to "the Hottentot chief Dackkgy (alias Cuyper, stadhouder and guardian to the prince") (1) (Moodie, *Record*, 318-9). It is interesting to note how, within twenty years of the settlement at the Cape, the names of the local Hottentot clans and tribes had already fallen into general disuse, the different groups being more commonly known by the names of their headmen or chiefs, while only the more remote groups still bore their tribal names.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains.[33]) They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross. In arms the difference is very slight. The native equivalent of a sword is a club, and the common soldiers carry one with knots at the top, the officers one without. But the difference in authority and in the numerous body-guard is great: the captains always have five, six, or more of the older men to attend on them.[34]) In this way they resemble the ancient Romans, who entrusted counsel to age, arms to youth.

The Most Noble Society has now but one enemy, Honnema and his people.[35]) From him, shortly before my arrival, our men, at the Governor's instance, took a booty of more than 1,000 oxen and cows, not to mention sheep.[36]) By this they were greatly emboldened to face the probability of being soon again despatched against these people. The two auxiliary officers, Captain Claes and Captain Cuyper, collected forces to this end, wherewith to reinforce our men. In war the Hottentots use the following procedure: Women serve as ambassadors; if they are captured, they are restored without ransom.[37])

CHAP. XVII.

Mode of Buying and Selling.

Since all their riches consist in cattle we carry on no trade with these natives except in cattle. This is done in the following way:[38]) Our Governor sends to them one or more experienced traders, accompanied by a few soldiers, with a supply of tobacco, that is, Virginian (called by them *boubas tabak*), in very small quantity, for they never ask

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[33]) This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headman of every large Hottentot kraal "kapitein" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves), and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority.

[34]) These men would be the council of elders who assisted the chief in governing the affairs of the tribe.

[35]) See above, p. 111.

[36]) This refers to the punitive expedition sent against Gonnema in July, 1672, which returned with a booty officially estimated at 800 cattle and 900 sheep. (D., July 25, 1672.)

[37]) In April 1677, the overseer of the Dutch outpost at Hottentots Holland reported that "several of the women of the hostile Gonnema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claas, to treat for peace" (Moodie, *Record*, 348), which would seem to confirm Ten Rhyne's statement.

[38]) Ten Rhyne's account of the cattle-trade is supported in the main by the contemporary records, although it contains some details not found in the official documents.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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law, and the settlement grows greater day by day in burghers, farms, and fortunes; but what the just price was that passed between them the sellers do not know, and the purchasers are averse to stating.[101]) It is sufficient that no harm was done to those who accepted the occupation without resistance, and that our countrymen, from the slenderest beginnings, have become the lords of a domain vaster than the whole circuit of Holland. For when the colony was still in its infancy, the burghers, provoked by repeated robberies on the part of the natives, and perceiving that the terms of peace they offered were rather scornfully rejected, declared war upon them. They then collected all their forces, both mercenary troops and burghers, made an invasion into the territory of the enemy and began to lay it waste, leaving only a small garrison behind in the fort. The invaders waited their time, and when the natives were wearied on one occasion with their usual dancing by night, and had fallen asleep at the first peep of dawn, they fell upon them, off their guard and sleeping soundly. Some were slaughtered, the rest sought safety in flight. The Europeans then plundered everything, and drove off by forced marches a huge quantity of sheep and oxen. The natives rallied and pressed upon the rear and flanks of the retreating host, but our cavalry routed them. They then made a plan to be carried out at the first sight of the morning star (and this is the reason why I think they cannot be regarded as totally ignorant of the motions of the stars and the fixed order of time). Dividing all their forces into four divisions they were to steal upon our camp, crawling up on their bellies. At the agreed signal they sprang up for the attack. But our pickets sighted them and gave the cry *To arms*. Our men arose, and vigorously repelled the assault of the enemy. But if they had not misjudged the situation they could a little afterwards have slain the Dutch with impunity to their heart's content, for such a flood of rain suddenly fell and so violent a wind rose that our men were numbed with the cold and their weapons were soaked with wet. If the natives had then attacked they could have slain them to a man, exhausted as they were with marching and encumbered with packs and baggage. But heaven willed otherwise. This one blow crippled the natives' strength. One victory finished

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the district of Hottentots Holland to the Dutch "in return for merchandise amounting in value to £800. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 18s. 4d." (Theal, ii, 198-201). In the eyes of the Hottentots these "sales" were probably nothing more than the granting of usufruct, and the "purchase price" analogous to tribute paid for this use (Schapera, 1930).

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680 latum, nobisque in otio vivendi copia quiesque parta, et latius extendendi pomeria occasio oblata fuit.

Sub hujus Coloniae primordiis, Afri nostros conterraneos ignivomos putabant, dum adstupentes, displosis nostratium bombardis una solâ glanda plombeâ quantamcunque feram, leonem, elephantemve tanquam Jovis ignibus ictum, sterni vident. Iidem equites nostros, totidem Centauros, aut semi-viros[que] equos sibi fingebant, ad quorum conspectum contremiscebant. Eorundemque fortitudinem in tantum reverebantur, ut quamlibet mulierem puellamve horum barbarorum, alteram Thalestram Alexandri concipiendi studio se prostituentem dixisses, eò acriori in venerem cupidine (instigante et stimulante forte ejus marito) quo firmius credebat, foetui ex nostris concepto, parentis virtutem ingenerari: Misella! pulveris nitrati et nostratium armorum ignara.

Talibus illusionibus fovendis, nostratium aliquis, barbaro pateram ex vicino torrente aquâ replendam porrexit: nostras interim aliam priori assimilem, spiritu vini maximarum virium diffluentem in tentorio suo abscondit, revertitur Afer, cantinumque lympha plenum reportat, quem arreptum nostras juxta latentem patinam subdole collocat, convocatque Barbaros, ut cum suis magis adsint. Protinus omnes adstant, interroganturque, an aquam per Afrum ex amne haustam et scutella contentam flammis conflagrare valeant? qui imperitiam suam fassi, negant à quoquam id posse fieri. Astu nostras patinam spiritu vini gravem produxit, petitque ignem sibi dari, vafreque admotis sulphuratis spiritum vini accendit, quem ubi flammatum barbari vident, credentes aquam à se allatam ignem concepisse, nullum suspicantes dolum, quidam eorum pudore, omnes metu diffugiunt: sic ars deluditur arte.

• 721 [102]) The episode to which G. refers took place during the war of 1673-77 against Gonnema (see above, p. 88). In July, 1673, the first punitive expedition sent out from the Fort under Cruse found the Hottentots' kraal abandoned, but seized all the cattle and marched back home. They had not gone very far before they discovered that the Hottentots were following them, and at their first resting-place an attempt was made to recover the cattle. It failed, but the Hottentots kept hovering about for some time. "Had hardly marched a quarter of an hour," says Cruse's report, "when it began to rain so horribly that in case of necessity not one of us would have been able to discharge his musket, but God has protected us from an attack of the enemy who might, humanly speaking, have been able to destroy us all and recapture the cattle" (D., July 25, 1673).

177 [103]) De Choisy, one of the Jesuits who passed through the Cape in 1685-86 on their way to Siam, relates an identical episode which he says was told to him by Simon v. d. Stel as having

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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the war. The chance of living in peace and quiet, and the freedom to extend our dominion, were secured for us.[182])

In the early days of the Colony the natives thought that our men who lived next to them could vomit fire. They stood by in amazement, while on the discharge of our guns they saw the largest wild animal, a lion, or an elephant, laid low by one leaden bullet as if struck by lightning. Our cavalry likewise they regarded as so many Centaurs, half horses half men; at the sight of them they began to shake; and they held their strength in such awe that any native wife or maid would prostitute herself to them, hoping, like a second Thalestra, to conceive an Alexander; the woman's husband perhaps would urge her to it, and she would be all the more ready because firmly convinced that the virtue of the sire would be implanted in any child conceived from one of our men. Poor woman! All because she had never heard of powder and shot.

In order to foster these illusions one of our fellows gave a native a dish to be filled with water from the streams near by. Meantime he took a second dish like the first, overflowing with strong spirits of wine, and hid it in his tent. The native returned bringing the bowl of water, which our man took and put secretly beside the concealed dish. He then summoned the natives to attend with their witch-doctors. They all came at once, and were asked whether they could cause to break into flame the water fetched by the native from the stream and contained in the dish. They confessed their inability, alleging that nobody could do it. Then our wily fellow produced the bowl of spirits of wine, called for a light, and cunningly applied the match to the spirits of wine. When the natives saw the burst of flame, they thought he had set the water on fire; suspecting no deceit, they fled in all directions, some through shame, but all in fear. So is the trickster tricked[183]).

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happened during the journey to Namaqualand. He describes it as follows: "Un jour qu'il estoit campé sur une petite hauteur, les Outentos qui l'accompagnoient, lui dirent qu'il alloit mourir, et qu'ils voyoient venir à lui les deux plus grand sorciers du pais. En effet, deux hommes habillez bizarrement, suivis d'une centaine d'autres, s'approchoient gravement: mais il les prévint, et leur fit dire qu'il estoit plus grand sorcier qu'eux; et pour le leur prouver, il fit apporter devant eux un verre d'eau-de-vie, y mit le feu, et l'avala toute enflammée. Les pauvres sorciers se jetterent à genoux, reconnurent son pouvoir supérieur, et se retirent" (*Journal du Voyage de Siam*, reprint 1930, p. 276). There is no mention at all of this incident in the official records of the journey, but some such story must have been current in the Cape about 1685, forming the source upon which both G. and de Choisy drew their respective accounts.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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in that district was large enough to warrant the establishment of a missionary station among them. This took place in the course of the next year when Rev. Edwards chose *Moos* as the scene of his activities. *Moos*, which, if cannot definitely be identified with the modern Bloemhof, could not, according to the indications given by Broadbent, have been very far from it.[6] But the times were unfavourable for missionary enterprise. After the Mantatees came the Bataung Molitsane. The Maquassie Station was again attacked and destroyed and its disappearance had, as a consequence, the relinquishing of the station at *Moos*.[7] It had not lasted a complete year. The Korana, however, soon (1826), established friendly relations with Molitsane.[8]

This Bataung chief had a remarkable personality and he seemed to have, at an early period, won the confidence of the Links Korana, and henceforth they remained his firm and constant allies, even bringing upon the tribe, through this friendship and alliance, the horrors of war. For shortly after (1829), it was the hand of the dreaded Moselekatze, the great bloodthirsty chief of the Ndebele, which was raised in vengeance against them. The details of this struggle, scattered through the depositions of various witnesses at the Bloemhof Commission, have had to be laboriously gathered and pieced together to obtain a true and complete picture.[9]

Maclabie—whose name is perpetuated in the *Machavi* of the Western Transvaal—a Barolong chief, lived in close proximity to Sifonello, on what is the present farm of Hartebeestfontein, west of Maquassie. He was then the subject of Moselekatze, paying his vassal dues in skins and karosses. He, too, had been attacked and robbed of his cattle by Molitsane, who, not content with spoiling the subject, presumed to steal the cattle of the great chief Moselekatze. Molitsane had then his principal kraal, where the Links had been in 1820, at the junction of the Vet and Vaal Rivers, and as he retired with his spoil to his huts, Moselekatze followed, after joining his impis with Maclabie's men. Hot in pursuit of the robber chief, they passed the Vaal, drove him headlong, along with the fighting force of the Links, across the northern plains of the Free

[6] Broadbent, on his return journey to England, took approximately 2 days from Maquassie Station to *Moos* and he mentions it as being close to the Vaal, pp. 122-125.

[7] R.W.M.M.S. 1824, p. 66; 1825, pp. 38-39.

[8] R.W.M.M.S. 1826, p. 123.

[9] B.C. Depositions of Maclabie, p. 262-5; Magaal p. 326-328; Johannes Hendrik Visser, p. 249; Massow, p. 291; Johannes Links, p. 292; Jan Pienaar, p. 347; Nicholas Kruger, p. 350.

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175 State, until they hurled Molitsane and the Links over the Modder River.
619 A great battle took place just beyond, at Spitz Kop near the modern
721 Bloemfontein. Molitsane had divided the stolen cattle in two parts; those which he had directed upon Spitzkop were recaptured by his enemies.

Johannes Hendrik Visser, a Colonial Boer who was in the habit of "trekking" yearly over the Great River with his flocks and herds, has left a graphic picture of the scene of havoc and desolation which met his eyes when, shortly after—in July 1829—a young boy of sixteen, he happened to be on the field of battle. "The following morning we rode with Esterhuisen, who pointed out the spot where the Stinkhoutspruit empties itself into the Modder River and from there threequarters of an hour on horseback to a single hill on the west side of the spruit and where we saw bodies of men, women and children by the hundreds. I did not know the tribes at that time, but they wore the same dress as the Barolongs, Batlapins and Bushmen kafir do at the present day. I examined hundreds of bodies, all of which had been killed by assegais and the only live person I saw was a young boy sitting alongside of a woman and which (sic) Stoffel Visser took home on horseback by order of the field-cornet. According to the track the Commando had retraced its steps through to the same drift." No doubt, if Visser had known more about the tribes, he would have recognised some faithful allies of Molitsane—the Links,—among the dead.

Molitsane himself was then attacked by Adam Kok, the Griqua chief of Philippolis, and his power finally broken. He will, however, appear at a later date, again as the ally and friend of the Links.

175 The Links, who had played a part in the battle of Spitzkop, belonged
619 to the younger generation of the tribe, and among them was the chief's son, Johannes Links. The older people had remained where the kraals were then, at the junction of the Sand and Vet Rivers. The tribe seems to have remained dispersed for some time, as, in 1835, Rev. Wuras, of the Berlin Mission Station of Bethany, found Abraham Links with several large kraals in the same neighbourhood.[10] It is certain that the Bloemhof district had ceased to be occupied by them until 1841.

During the intervening period (1829-1841) there had been events of the first importance in the history of South Africa. The Great Trek had taken place and the "emigrant Boers," to use the official designation of the documents of the English Government, had appeared on the scene

[10] B. M. B. 1836, p. 178. ff.

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175 619 797 261 For fully fifteen years, the Links continued to occupy the Saltpan and the country around. This relative stability of their occupation was in a large measure due to the establishment of a Mission Station near the Saltpan by the Berlin Missionary Society.

Saron—that was its name—was founded in June, 1847, by Johann Schmidt, who discovered a large field opening up to his activities. Besides the kraals of the BaMairi—a branch of the Batlaping under [161] Matlabane—the Links themselves were estimated to number at that time 1,600.[15] This large population lived in important but scattered groups under their separate captains. At Saron itself, Gert Hareip, a tall, imposing old man of over ninety years of age and his son, also named Gert, ruled.[16] Further to the east, along the Bamboes Spruit, a northern tributary of the Vaal River, was another numerous section of the tribe under Oerson,[17] and to the south of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Vet River, some more kraals, possibly under Hermanus Links.

175 619 797 To hold together such large and widely-flung numbers of Korana in whom the peculiar conditions of their economic life,—a purely pastoral one—and in a dry country of poor pastures, had ingrained, for centuries, the necessity of nomadic habits, was the great and pressing problem of the Mission. The letters and reports of Johann Schmidt to[18] the parent Society in Berlin are a long and woeful tale of his pathetic efforts in the struggle to keep them near the Word of God. On one occasion, when he had absented himself for a few days to visit his colleague, Rev. Ross, he found on his return all the little rush-mat huts packed away and the station nearly deserted.[19]

Old Hareip, in the characteristic Korana manner, within three years, [166] had wandered eighteen times for distances varying from half a mile to three miles from the station.[20] He was obdurate to the good words of Schmidt and had become inimical to the teaching of Christianity among his people.

175 619 721 Nor were the century-old habits of a wandering life the only difficulty. A war or rather a cattle-lifting raid of the Links against the

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[15] B. M. J. 1848, p. 36-37.
[16] B. M. B. 1853, p. 80.
[17] B. M. B. 1853, p. 81.
[18] B. M. B. years 1848-1854.
[19] B. M. B. 1850, p. 202
[20] B. M. B. 1853, p. 84.

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Taaibosch threatened the destruction of the station. Gert Taaibosch was then the chief of the Korana of Nieuweland where he, in company with his brother Hanto, the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell and the Barolong of Moroko, had migrated from Platberg in 1834. In 1849, he and his friend Sikonyela fell foul of Moshesh, the great Basotho chief, and Moletsane. The latter has already appeared in this story, as the friend and ally of the Links and, in fact, at the time of the attack of Taaibosch was in possession of some cattle of the Links. The victorious Taaibosch made no distinction in the property of the cattle, but took all he could get. When Hareip of Saron heard the news, he was naturally disturbed and was for immediate war, but Schmidt pursuaded him to apply for redress to Major Warden, the British resident at Bloemfontein. This he did, and obtained a letter directing the restoration of the Links cattle. Before, however, this could be used, the Links had already fallen upon the Taaibosch, who were on their way to Pniel on the Vaal River and recovered their cattle besides killing some of the men of Taaibosch, who vowed vengeance. Thanks, however, to the mediation of the missionaries, nothing serious resulted from this episode.[21]

A further loss of ten waggons during an attack by Major Warden on Molitsane at Mekwatling in September 1850 exasperated the Links, who until then had remained neutral. It drove them—Molitsane himself at a later date assigned this as a reason for their action—to rank themselves on the side of the Bataung chief at the battle of Viervoet (June 30th 1851), which ended so disastrously for Warden and his Native allies, among whom were Jan Taaibosch, Jan Bloem and Goliath. One of its consequences was a series of cattle forays by the Links under the leadership of adventurers like Van der Kolf. These events have their echo in the Berichte of the Berlin Mission, which show their disturbing effect on the Links.*

In the meantime, other occupants had appeared. Matlabane, who has already been mentioned, and his BaMairi did not trouble the Links to any great extent. In fact, he himself, and possibly a number of his subjects, had Korana blood in their veins, and in accordance with the custom not unknown among the Batlaping chiefs, he had married a Korana wife, the daughter of Gert Links, so that, when, in 1846, he came to his father-in-law, the permission to occupy grazing land was

[21] B. M. B. 1850, p. 191; 202-6.

*Bas. Rec. I. pp. 299, 414, 421; Imperial Bluebook—no Number—May 1853, p. 18; B. M. B. 1851. pp. 12, 51, 202, 220; 1852, note on pp. 3-5; pp. 103, 106.